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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 06 PARIS 25047

USCINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: FR, PFOR, PINT

SUBJECT: THE CONCEPT OF ATLANTICISM IN FRANCE TODAY

SUMMARY: THE SENTIMENT OF ATLANTICISM IN CONTEMPORARY FRANCE STILL STIRS THE POLITICAL CLASS. WITHIN THIS CLASS (THOSE WHO, IN THE CAPITAL CITY AND THE PROVINCES, ARE EITHER ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN POLITICS OR, LIKE JOURNALISTS, FOLLOW CLOSELY THE HIGHLY VARIEGATED FRENCH POLITICAL SCENE), THE WORD "ATLANTICISM" IS TODAY USUALLY A PEJORATIVE TERM, AND IS USED WITH RESERVATION EVEN BY THOSE WHOSE POLICIES AND OUTLOOK WOULD SEEM TO EVINCE SYMPATHY TOWARDS A PRO-ATLANTIC ALLIANCE POINT OF VIEW. IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WHENEVER IT APPEARS THAT WHAT ARE SEEN AS UNITED STATES INTERESTS ARE GAINING AN EDGE ON TRADITIONAL, I.E. GAULLIST INTERESTS, THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE MUST REACT STRONGLY TO PROTECT ITSELF FROM THE ACCUSATION THAT IT IS SOFT ON ATLANTICISM. IN DEFENSE, AN ANTI-ATLANTICISM STANCE IS, FOR EXAMPLE, ONE OF THE MAJOR IMPEDIMENTS FOR STANDARDIZATION INVOLVING THE FRENCH IN THE NEAR FUTURE, IN SPITE OF DEVELOPING LINKS BETWEEN FRENCH FORCES AND THE NATO MILITARY COMMAND. (NOTE: FREQUENTLY IN FRANCE A MAN WILL AT ONE AND THE SAME TIME BOTH ENDORSE FRENCH MEMBERSHIP IN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND CRITICIZE "ATLANTICISM.") THOSE WHO COME OUT IN FAVOR OF THE PRESENCE OF MULTI-NATIONAL FIRMS IN FRANCE ALSO HAVE THE LABEL ATLANTICIST ATTACHED TO THEM. IN MONETARY POLICY, ONCE AGAIN ALL THE CURRENT PROBLEMS OF THE FRENCH FRANC ARE LAID AT THE DOOR OF A "TOO ATLANTICIST" MONETARY POLICY ON THE PART OF THE GOF. WHILE THE TERM IS GENERALLY NOT APPLIED TO THE FIELD OF CULTURE, ONE OPENS HIMSELF TO THE EPITHET ATLANTICIST IF HE EVINCES A PARTICULAR INTEREST IN AMERICAN

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CULTURE, LANGUAGE, ETC. THE ONLY POLITICAL GROUPING IN FRANCE THAT MAY CONCEIVABLY BE CALLED PRO-ATLANTIC WOULD INCLUDE THE CENTER PARTIES, THAT IS TO SAY, THE CENTER FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND RADICAL SOCIALISTS, ALONG WITH SOME ELEMENTS OF THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN PARTY. GERMANY REMAINS A MAJOR PREOCCUPATION OF THE FRENCH, IN PART BECAUSE IT IS FELT THAT THE FRG, AS THE MOST POWERFUL ALLY OF U.S. INTERESTS IN EUROPE,

WILL OPEN THE DOOR TO INCREASED U.S. INFLUENCE
THROUGH SUCH BODIES AS NATO AND THE EUROPEAN

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PARLIAMENT. THE FACT REMAINS, HOWEVER, THAT THE AVERAGE FRENCHMAN IS LITTLE CONCERNED WITH THE ABSTRACT IDEA OF ATLANTICISM AS A FORCE OF WHICH HE MUST BEWARE. HE IS FUNDAMENTALLY PRO-WESTERN AND ANTI-SOVIET, AND AT HEART MORE CONCERNED WITH DOMESTIC PROBLEMS THAN FOREIGN ALLIANCES. END SUMMARY.

1. BACKGROUND: IN THE FLUSH OF VICTORY AFTER WW II "ATLANTICISM" WAS, IN FRANCE AS ELSEWHERE, BOTH A MILITARY TERM (MOST STRONGLY EVINced BY THE FLEDGLING NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ASSOCIATION THAT ENCOMPASSED A FORMALIZED DEFENSE STRUCTURE WITH WHICH MOST OF THE FRENCH WERE IN ACCORD) AND AN IDEA, ARTICULATED BY VARIOUS AMERICAN "EUROPEANISTS" IN THE IMMEDIATE POST-WAR ERA, OF WORKING TOGETHER FOR THE PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST. UNDER DE GAULLE'S LEADERSHIP, HOWEVER, "ATLANTICISM" DEVELOPED A PEJORATIVE AND ANTI-AMERICAN OVERTONE, AND WAS BROADENED AT THE SAME TIME TO INCLUDE AFFAIRS THAT WERE NOT STRICTLY RELATED TO THE ALLIANCE, SUCH AS THE INDOCHINESE CONFLICT AND THE SUEZ CONTROVERSY. THE MOST OVERT OBJECTION ON THE PART OF FRANCE TOWARDS ATLANTICISM WAS OF COURSE GOF'S WITHDRAWAL IN 1966 FROM THE NATO INTEGRATED MILITARY COMMAND. SINCE THEN THE WORD HAS COME TO INCORPORATE ANY FIELD--FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DEFENSE, COMMERCE, CULTURE--IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES AND HER WESTERN EUROPEAN ALLIES COOPERATE AND COMPETE. IT IS, HOWEVER, IN CONTEMPORARY FRANCE A HEAVILY CHARGED TERM, MORE DISPARAGING THAN EVER FOR MANY FRENCHMEN, AND USED AS A POLITICALLY DENIGRATING EPITHET BY THOSE CONCERNED WITH THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC. EVEN PEOPLE ESPOUSING CLOSE TIES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE, INCLUDING FRANCE, (SUCH AS, IT WOULD SEEM, THE CURRENT PRESIDENT OF FRANCE
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HIMSELF), HESITATE TO ATTACH THE LABEL "ATLANTICIST" TO THEIR VIEWS FOR FEAR OF ALIENATING THEIR AUDIENCE. THUS ANY EXAMINATION OF THE CONCEPT OF ATLANTICISM IN FRANCE TODAY STARTS FROM THE PREMISE THAT FOR FRENCHMEN WHO ARE IN OR WHO CLOSELY FOLLOW POLITICS, THE TERM IS ALMOST A DIRTY WORD, ONE THAT ELICITS A PASSIONATE RESPONSE WHENEVER IT IS INTRODUCED.

2. FOREIGN AFFAIRS: IN EFFECT PRACTICALLY ALL OF THE SUBSEQUENT PARAGRAPH HEADINGS COULD FALL UNDER FOREIGN AFFAIRS. SINCE THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING IN MAY 1974, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND FRANCE HAVE IMPROVED. HIS DETRACTORS, WHICH INCLUDE PART OF HIS OWN MAJORITY, ACCUSE HIM OF ATLANTICISM OR, IN THEIR VIEW, SELLING OUT TO UNCLE SAM. THE RAMBOUILLET MONETARY CONFERENCE, MARTINIQUE AND PUERTO RICO ARE EXAMPLES OF WHAT MANY FRENCH BELIEVE WAS A CAPITULATION TO U.S. INTERESTS. THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE IS THE FRACAS OVER THE SALE OF A FRENCH NUCLEAR REPROCESSING PLANT TO PAKISTAN (PARIS 23464). WHEN THE UNITED STATES WAS ACCUSED OF ISSUING A "DIKTAT", THEN PRIME MINISTER CHIRAC LOST NO TIME IN DENOUNCING (GRATUITOUSLY) ANY TRIPARTITE MEETINGS ON THE SUBJECT IN AN EFFORT TO FORESTALL FURTHER CHARGES OF ATLANTICISM AGAINST HIS GOVERNMENT AND TO LIMIT ANY GISCARDIAN TENDENCY TO ACCOMMODATE USG WORRIES. FRANCE'S INCREASINGLY TROUBLED RELATIONS WITH THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES--THE COLOMBO DECLARATION IS A RECENT CASE--ARE BLAMED BY SOME ON HER RECENT SIDING TOO CLOSELY WITH THE U.S.. FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES IS ALSO THOUGHT BY MANY TO BE TOO ATLANTICIST; AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT OFTEN FINDS ITSELF UNDER ATTACK FOR "CEDING" TO THE U.S., EVEN WHEN FRANCE'S INTERESTS COINCIDE WITH THOSE OF THE U.S.

3. DEFENSE: FOR THE SAKE OF SIMPLICITY, ONE CAN SAY THAT CONCERNING DEFENSE THERE ARE TWO SCHOOLS OF THINKING: FRANCE MUST BUILD AS STRONG A DEFENSE AS POSSIBLE AND RELY ON HERSELF; FRANCE MUST BUILD AS STRONG A DEFENSE AS POSSIBLE AND COORDINATE

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WITH HER PARTNERS. THE SECOND OPTION, HOWEVER, IS FURTHER DIVIDED: "PARTNERS" EITHER DOES OR DOES NOT INCLUDE THE UNITED STATES. THE MAIN IMPEDIMENT TO WEAPONS STANDARDIZATION, FOR EXAMPLE, IS A BELIEF

THAT FRANCE AND HER EUROPEAN ALLIES WOULD WIND UP
BUYING ALL AMERICAN ARMS, WHILE HER OWN ARMS INDUSTRY
WITHERS AWAY. (A DIFFERENT VIEW OF THE SAME
PROBLEM IS THAT HELD BY JEAN DELPECH, MINISTERIAL

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DELEGATE FOR ARMAMENTS, WHO BELIEVES THAT THE EUROPEAN ARMS INDUSTRY IS ON A TECHNOLOGICAL PAR WITH THAT OF THE U.S. - PARIS 13660.) AS A RESULT THOSE WHO ADVOCATE STANDARDIZATION ARE FREQUENTLY LABELED ATLANTICIST. IT IS, FURTHERMORE, ATLANTICIST TO COUNT ON THE UNITED STATES' COMING TO THE AID OF WESTERN EUROPE SHOULD THERE BE AN OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES WITH EASTERN EUROPE. IT IS ATLANTICIST TO BELIEVE IN THE AMERICAN NUCLEAR UMBRELLA, OR TO ESPOUSE GENERAL MERY'S THEORY OF AN ENLARGED DEFENSE SANCTUARY, (PARIS 16507), SINCE FRANCE WOULD THEREBY GET INVOLVED UNNECESSARILY IN A WAR THAT COULD--AND "SHOULD"--BE LIMITED ON ONE SIDE TO THE U.S. AND PERHAPS HER NATO ALLIES. IN SUM, TO SYMPATHIZE WITH FORMAL NATO DOCTRINE, OR EVEN TO EDGE IN THAT DIRECTION, IS TO REVEAL ONESELF AN ATLANTICIST TO THOSE THEOLOGIANS ALWAYS ALERT TO THE SIGNS OF SINFULNESS. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT IN MANY PARTS OF FRANCE THE MEMORY OF AMERICAN SERVICE IN WW II IS STILL VERY MUCH ALIVE; AND WHILE THE CONCEPT OF A "TOUT AZIMUT" DEFENSE POSTURE MIGHT STILL BE RELISHED BY SOME, ONLY THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY--AND NOT ALL MILITANTS AT THAT--WOULD STILL ARGUE THAT THE ATTACK COULD COME FROM THE WESTERN ATLANTIC. THUS, THERE EXISTS IN LARGE PARTS OF FRENCH SOCIETY, AN UNSPOKEN ACCEPTANCE OF THE U.S. ROLE IN THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE, BUT AT THE SAME TIME THERE ARE STRONG INHIBITIONS AGAINST ARTICULATING THIS, UNDERSCORING THE DISTINCTION THAT EXISTS BETWEEN ATLANTICISM IN GENERAL AND MEMBERSHIP IN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IN PARTICULAR.

4. COMMERCE: ADVOCATES OF MULTINATIONALISM IN BUSINESS ARE FREQUENTLY LABELED ATLANTICIST, EVEN WHEN IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE FINANCIAL INTERESTS
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OF FRANCE ARE SERVED BY COOPERATION WITH AN AMERICAN FIRM IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. WHEN GOF REASSUMES CONTROLLING INTEREST IN A COMPANY OVER WHICH AN AMERICAN PARENT HOLDS CONTROL, AS IN THE HONEYWELL BULL/CII CASE, THE ANTI-ATLANTICISTS APPLAUD. PERIODIC MENTION OF POSSIBLE COOPERATION IN AIRCRAFT CONSTRUCTION BETWEEN FRENCH AND U.S. INDUSTRIES HAS INEVITABLY PROVOKED OUTCRIES FROM TRADE UNIONS AND SOME POLITICAL PARTIES THAT THIS WOULD BE A SELL-OUT TO THE AMERICANS AND LEAD TO THE DEMISE OF AN INDEPENDENT FRENCH INDUSTRY; THE MECURE 200 PROJECT, JUST ANNOUNCED WITH A SMALL PARTICIPATION BY DOUGLAS, WAS NO EXCEPTION. THE FACT THAT AMERICAN-OWNED FIRMS IN FRANCE ARE MAJOR SOURCES OF EMPLOYMENT AND, FREQUENTLY, OF EXPORT REVENUE, IS OFTEN OVERLOOKED FOR POLITICAL REASONS, A MULTINATIONAL BEING BY DEFINITION A THREAT TO INDEPENDENCE. WHEN NATIONAL DISTILLERS RECENTLY OFFERED TO BUY THE PRESTIGIOUS BUT LONG-SUFFERING CHATEAU MARGAUX VINEYARD, FINANCE MINISTER JEAN-PIERRE FOURCADE REFUSED, SAYING THAT A "FRENCH SOLUTION (TO THE PROBLEM) HAD TO BE FOUND." ON THE OTHER HAND "EUROPEAN" MULTINATIONALS SUCH AS SHELL, PHILLIPS AND UNILEVER, RARELY COME UNDER THE SAME KIND OF CRITICISM, THOUGH THEY MAY IN MANY CASES BE JUST AS FINANCIALLY IMPORTANT AS THEIR AMERICAN COUNTERPARTS. CONCORDE IS ALSO AN ISSUE OVER WHICH MANY FRENCH, INCLUDING STAUNCH ATLANTICISTS, HAVE SINGLED OUT FOR CRITICISM AS NON-ATLANTIC, AN ALLEGED ABSENCE OF FAIR PLAY ON OUR PART TOWARD TWO OF OUR OLDEST FRIENDS AND ALLIES, FRANCE AND THE UK. IN CONCLUSION IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE FRENCH BUSINESS WORLD LOOKS IN GENERAL WITH FAVOR ON U.S. INVESTMENT AND, AS EVINCED BY GROWING FRENCH INVESTMENT IN THE U.S., IS QUICKLY LEARNING THE BENEFITS OF INVESTMENT ABROAD. THUS, DESPITE OBJECTIONS FROM NATIONALISTS, REAL ATLANTICISM FROM THIS SECTOR IS STRONGER TODAY THAN EVER.

5. MONETARY POLICY AND ENERGY: NOWHERE ELSE EXCEPT IN DEFENSE HAVE FRENCH SENSIBILITIES BEEN SO TUNED TO THE "THREAT" OF AMERICAN DOMINATION AS IN THE
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FIELD OF MONETARY POLICY, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE U.S. PULLED OUT OF THE BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENT IN 1971.

AS MENTIONED ABOVE, RAMBOUILLET AND MARTINIQUE ARE
CONSIDERED DISHONORABLE BY MANY FRENCHMEN. PROPONENTS
OF THE FLOATING FRANC, OF FRANCE'S WITHDRAWING FROM
THE EUROPEAN SNAKE, ARE HELD TO BE ATLANTICISTS
EMBRACING DIRECT U.S. POLICY AND INTERESTS TO
THE IMMEDIATE DETRIMENT OF FRANCE. WHILE ADVOCATES OF

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THE GOLD STANDARD AND FIXED EXCHANGE RATES ARE ON THE WANE, THERE IS STRONG RESENTMENT OF THE FACT THAT THE FRANC HAS BEEN BOUNCING AROUND EVER SINCE NOVEMBER 1975. BLAME IS LAID DIRECTLY AT THE DOOR OF AMERICA AND HER NORTH EUROPEAN "ALLIES"; THE FACT THAT THE FRANC IS BACK TO 1973 LEVELS--REACHING MORE THAN FIVE TO THE DOLLAR--IS BLAMED ON U.S. MONETARY POLICY. ADDITIONALLY, IN THE FIELD OF ENERGY, ONE IS ATLANTICIST SHOULD HE ADVOCATE FRANCE'S JOINING THE IEA. HERE ONE WILL RECALL THAT FRANCE REFUSED TO JOIN THE IEA PARTIALLY BECAUSE THE INITIATIVE WAS AMERICAN AND THEREFORE SUSPECT. THE PROBLEM IS CONFUSED, HOWEVER, BY THE RECOGNITION ON THE PART OF MOST EXPERTS THAT FRANCE CANNOT GO IT ALONE. IN FACT, THERE HAVE RECENTLY BEEN EXPRESSIONS OF INTEREST BY CONCERNED FRENCH OFFICIALS IN THEIR COUNTRY'S PARTICIPATION AS A NON-MEMBER IN PROPOSED IEA EXERCISES SETTING TARGETS FOR REDUCED DEPENDENCE ON OIL IMPORTS AND ESTABLISHING COMMON COMMITMENTS TO UNDERTAKE VARIOUS ENERGY POLICY MEASURES. EFFORTS TO REACH BILATERAL SOLUTIONS TO HER ENERGY PROBLEMS ONLY RESULT IN SHORT RANGE ANSWERS TO FRANCE'S PROBLEMS. AS A RESULT FRANCE'S MEAGER SUCCESS IN BILATERAL ACQUISITION EFFORTS WITH INDIVIDUAL PRODUCER STATES OVER THE PAST YEARS HAS DRIVEN HOME THE POINT OF CONSUMER INTERDEPENDENCE AND, BY EXTENSION, OF A MORE WESTERN SOLUTION TO HER ENERGY PROBLEMS.

6. CULTURE: ATLANTICISM IN THE FIELD OF CULTURE BOILS DOWN TO THE RESENTMENT MANY FRENCH FEEL TOWARDS THE PREDOMINANCE OF AN AMERICAN STYLE AND INFLUENCE IN THE ARTS OVER THAT OF "LA VIEILLE EUROPE" IN GENERAL AND OF FRANCE, "MERE DES ARTS", IN PARTICULAR. WHILE THE TERM "ATLANTICIST" IS RARELY IF EVER

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THOSE IN DEFENSE, COMMERCE, MONETARY POLICY, ETC. ARE INVOLVED. FRENCH EDUCATORS HOLDING DEGREES FROM AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, OR IN MANY CASES AMERICAN TEACHERS IN FRENCH SCHOOLS, ADVANCE MORE SLOWLY THAN THEIR COLLEAGUES HOLDING EQUIVALENT FRENCH DEGREES. THIS IS AS MUCH DUE TO THE STRONG INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICAL LEFT IN THE FRENCH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AS IT IS TO A GENERALIZED FEELING THAT FRENCH CULTURE MUST BE PROTECTED. PERIODICALLY VOICES ARE RAISED IN PROTEST OVER AMERICAN TELEVISION SERIALS ON FRENCH NETWORKS OR AMERICAN FILMS SHOWING THROUGHOUT FRANCE (ESTIMATED AT 40 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL AT ANY GIVEN TIME, A \$30 MILLION-A-YEAR INDUSTRY). THE FRENCH ACADEMY TOLERATED THE ADVENT OF ANGLICISMS (DANDY, SMOKING, ROSBIF) SO LONG AS THEY REMAINED JUST THAT; WHEN THEY BECAME AMERICANISMS (O.K., MARKETING, GADGET) THEY WERE FORMALLY CONDEMNED FOR USE IN GOF BUREAUCRATIC WRITTEN COMMUNICATIONS. AMERICAN WRITERS WHOM FRENCH INTELLECTUALS CONSIDER "LEFT", SUCH AS LONDON, DOS PASSOS OR STEINBECK, GET A FAIR BREAK, PARTIALLY BECAUSE THEY'RE DECEASED; BUT NO ONE READS WARREN, UPDIKE OR PORTER. OP AND POP ARE SUSPECT BECAUSE THEY HAVE THEIR ORIGINS IN THE U.S., WHEREAS ELECTRONIC MUSIC OR ABSTRACT ART, WITH FIRM ANTECEDENTS IN GERMANY AND ENGLAND, ARE MORE TOLERATED. IN CULTURE THE CONCEPT OF ATLANTICISM IS MORE SUBJECTIVE THAN ELSEWHERE; ONE CAN, HOWEVER, SAY THAT ONLY AMONG THE EDUCATED CLASSES IS THERE A DEFINED RESENTMENT OF U.S. CULTURE IN FRANCE.

7. THE PARTIES: THERE IS LITTLE PROBLEM IDENTIFYING THE RESPECTIVE ATTITUDES OF FRANCE'S FIVE MAJOR PARTIES TOWARDS ATLANTICISM. THE MOST MILITANTLY ANTI-ATLANTICIST PARTIES ARE THE COMMUNISTS AND THE UDR (GAULLISTS). AS FAR AS BOTH ARE CONCERNED, GOF HAS SOLD OUT TO THE U.S., AND PCF LEADER GEORGES MARCHAIS OR FORMER GAULLIST PM MICHEL DEBRE ACCUSE GISCARD D'ESTAING OF, FOR EXAMPLE, SNEAKING BACK INTO THE NATO INTEGRATED MILITARY COMMAND WITHOUT LEVELING WITH THE FRENCH PEOPLE. THE OPINION OF CERES, THE SOCIALIST PARTY'S LEFT WING, IS CLOSE TO THE VIEWS OF THE PCF AND THE UDR REGARDING ATLANTICISM. THE BULK OF THE SOCIALISTS, UNDER FRANCOIS MITTERRAND, HAVE

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A SOMEWHAT MORE TOLERANT OUTLOOK TOWARDS THE INFLUENCE OF THE USA IN FRANCE (WHEN ASKED, MITTERRAND, AS WELL IN FACT AS GISCARD, HAVE SPECIFICALLY STATED WITHOUT HESITATION THAT FRANCE BELONGS TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE), THOUGH THEY BOTH MAY CERTAINLY BE PLACED SQUARELY IN THE CAMP OF THOSE OPPOSING A TOO VISIBLE PRESENCE. THE PRESIDENT'S OWN INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN (IR) PARTY, WHILE PERHAPS NOT OPENLY CHAMPIONING ATLANTICISM, COULD, WITH

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AMEMBASSY ROME

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USMISSION USUN
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THE EXCEPTION OF THE PARTY'S CONSERVATIVE WING (PERHAPS 30 PERCENT), BE DESCRIBED AS FAVORABLE TO STRONG TIES WITH AMERICA. FOR EXAMPLE, MANY YOUNG EXECUTIVES IN MULTINATIONAL FIRMS ARE IR. FINALLY THERE IS THE CENTER, A GROUPING OF HALF-A-DOZEN POLITICAL PARTIES WHICH MAY, FOR THE MOST PART, BE CALLED THE MOST PRO-ATLANTIC PEOPLE IN FRANCE TODAY. GEORGES MESMIN, A CENTRIST DEPUTY, IS ALMOST EMBARRASSING IN HIS OPEN PROFUSIONS OF ADMIRATION FOR THE U.S. AMONG POLITICIANS THEREFORE, USING THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AS AN INDICATOR, IT IS SAFE TO ESTIMATE THAT ONLY APPROXIMATELY 15 PERCENT ARE WHAT CAN FAIRLY BE CALLED PRO-ATLANTIC. IN ADDITION THERE ARE A NUMBER OF CLUBS, SOME OF THEM LARGE AND INFLUENTIAL SUCH AS THE CERCLE D'OPINION OR THE CERCLE INTERALLIE, WHICH OPENLY ADVOCATE ATLANTICISM WITH A CAPITAL A.

THE ABOVE FIGURE OF 15 PERCENT, HOWEVER, IS SOMEWHAT MISLEADING, SINCE FRENCH POLICY MAKERS OFTEN CHOOSE A COURSE OF ACTION, DESPITE ANTI-ATLANTICIST SENTIMENTS, THAT IS NOT AT VARIANCE WITH U.S. POLICY. WE CAN EXPECT TO SEE RESPECTIVE PARTY POSITIONS HARDEN IN THE TIME OF S ELECTIONS, THEN ABATE TO MORE OF AN UNDERCURRENT. THE ELECTORATE, FOR WHOM THE ISSUE IS OF LIMITED INTEREST, WILL CONTINUE TO PERCEIVE THE ATLANTICIST ASPECT OF PROBLEMS ON AN ISSUE-BY-ISSUE BASIS.

8. THE GERMAN QUESTION: AT A TIME WHEN GREAT BRITAIN WAS STILL SEEN AS A MAJOR WORLD POWER, SHE WAS CONSIDERED AN AMERICAN AGENT IN THE EYES OF MANY FRENCH LEADERS. DE GAULLE EXPRESSED HIMSELF CLEARLY AND FREQUENTLY ON THIS SCORE. TODAY GREAT BRITAIN HAS BEEN SUPPLANTED BY GERMANY. THE ELECTION OF A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT BY UNI-

VERSAL SUFFRAGE "WILL PERMIT WASHINGTON TO DOMINATE EVEN
MORE THE WESTERN HALF OF . . . EUROPE. GERMANY SERVES
THIS POLICY BEAUTIFULLY. AN INDUSTRIAL COLOSSUS, THIS
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COUNTRY IS THE BEST ALLY - READ AGENT - OF THE U.S."
SO RUNS A RECENT "QUOTIDIEN" (FRENCH LEFT-OF-CENTER
DAILY) ARTICLE. ALL THE ABOVE ASPECTS OF ATLANTICISM
MUST BE READ IN LIGHT OF A TWO-FOLD FEAR IN FRANCE: THAT
GERMANY, RISEN FROM HER ASHES, PRESENTS ANEW A THREAT -
BE IT MILITARY, COMMERCIAL, OR OTHERWISE - TO FRANCE,
AND THAT GERMANY SERVES THE DIRECT INTERESTS OF THE U.S.
AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF FRANCE, THAT IS TO SAY EUROPE.
LESSER COUNTRIES OF NORTHERN EUROPE, SUCH AS HOLLAND AND
BELGIUM, ARE PLACED IN THE SAME SPHERE. CONSIDERED
VASSALS OF THE U.S., THEY ARE BY DEFINITION TRAITORS TO
THE IDEA OF A EUROPE UNITED UNDER FRENCH INFLUENCE. ON
THE OTHER HAND, SOUTHERN EUROPE FALLS INTO A DIFFERENT
CLASS, PERHAPS BECAUSE THE PEOPLE ARE "LATIN" AND BY
TEMPERAMENT MORE CLOSELY ALLIED TO THE FRENCH, AND PER-
HAPS BECAUSE OF THE MARKED INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM IN
FRANCE, ITALY AND PORTUGAL. IT IS TOO SIMPLISTIC, HOW-
EVER, TO REDUCE THIS ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF FRANCE TO
MERE CHAUVINISM. THE FEAR OF GERMAN MIGHT IS ALIVE AND
GENUINE. IN FACT THE WORD "ATLANTIC" TODAY, IN ITS
STRICTEST DEFINITION, REALLY MEANS GERMAN/AMERICAN TO
MANY FRENCHMEN. LATER IN THE SAME ARTICLE QUOTED ABOVE
WE SEE THE SENTENCE, "THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE GERMAN-
AMERICANS ON ONE SIDE AND THE RUSSIANS ON THE OTHER DOES
NOT CONCERN FRANCE . . ." GERMANY IS THE BETE NOIRE
WHICH WILL OPEN THE DOOR TO AMERICAN DOMINATION OF EUROPE
AND IT APPEARS THAT THIS PREOCCUPATION IN FRANCE WILL
GROW IN DIRECT PROPORTION TO THE FRG'S INCREASING
POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL AND MILITARY POWER.

9. CONCLUSION: GISCARD D'ESTAING, WHO BEARS THE BRUNT
OF CRITICISM LEVELED AGAINST INCREASING EVIDENCE OF
ATLANTICISM IN FRANCE, FINDS HIMSELF IN AN AWKWARD
POSITION. ON ONE HAND, GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND
GERMANY ARE BRINGING DIRECT DIVIDENDS TO FRANCE IN MANY
SPHERES; ON THE OTHER HAND ATLANTICISM REMAINS SUCH A
TOUCHY ISSUE DOMESTICALLY THAT THE PRESIDENT IS OBLIGED
FOR POLITICAL REASONS TO KEEP HIS SUPPOSED SYMPATHIES ON
THIS SCORE IN LOW PROFILE. ADDITIONALLY ATLANTICISM
FREQUENTLY OVERLAPS WITH ISSUES WHICH, WHILE RELATED ON
ONE LEVEL, REMAIN NEVERTHELESS DISTINCT. THE EUROPEAN
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PARLIAMENT IS A GOOD EXAMPLE. A CERTAIN TRANS-PARTY
ELEMENT OF THE FRENCH POLITICAL WORLD IS OPPOSED TO THE
ELECTION OF PARLIAMENTARIANS BY UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE
BECAUSE IT COULD EVENTUALLY OPEN THE DOOR TO INCREASED
AMERICAN INFLUENCE OF EUROPE THROUGH U.S. "CLIENT"
STATES; BUT FACTIONS OF THE SAME ELEMENT ARE ALSO OPPOSED
BECAUSE IT WILL OPEN THE DOOR TO A PREPONDERANCE OF THE

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 SP-02 USIA-06 AID-05 EB-07

NSC-05 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 SS-15 STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01

ACDA-07 OC-06 CCO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 IO-13 SAJ-01 OES-06

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION OECD PARIS
USMISSION USUN
USCINCEUR
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL LYON
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
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AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

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EUROPEAN LEFT. THIS DICHOTOMOUS WAY OF INTERPRETING THE SITUATION, OVERLOOKING IN ONE RESPECT THE PREMISE THAT THE INFLUENCE OF THE U.S. WOULD ACT AS A DETRIMENT TO COMMUNISM, SEEMS TO PRESENT NO PROBLEM. ELSEWHERE JOEL LE THEULE (UDR) FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEFENSE COMMITTEE, CAN DECLARE THAT THERE IS NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE CURRENT DEFENSE POSTURE OF GOF FROM THAT UNDER CHARLES DE GAULLE, IN SPITE OF INCREASED COOPERATION BETWEEN FRANCE AND NATO.

10. TWO RECENT EVENTS SERVE TO UNDERScore THE PROBLEM OF ATLANTICISM IN FRANCE AS IT NOW STANDS. IN JULY THE GOF ANNOUNCED THAT THE HOT LINE BETWEEN THE ELYSEE AND THE KREMLIN - ESTABLISHED IN 1967 THEN DEACTIVATED - WOULD HENCEFORTH REFUNCTION. THE SAME MONTH THE GOF SIGNED AN ACCORD ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR ACCIDENTS WITH THE SOVIETS. ANTI-ATLANTICISTS IN FRANCE GREETED BOTH OF THE ABOVE WITH SATISFACTION, SINCE THEY APPEARED TO BE PROOF THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS BECOMING MORE BALANCED IN ITS ALLIANCES. IN A CERTAIN SENSE, IT MAY BE IN THE INTERESTS OF U.S. POLICY TO OFFER NO IMPEDIMENT TO THIS KIND OF GAULLIST BRIDGE-BUILDING ON FRANCE'S PART, SINCE THE CONSEQUENCE WOULD SEEM TO BE A WIDER POLITICAL MARGIN FOR THE GOF TO FORM CLOSER MILITARY TIES WITH THE U.S.

11. IN SPITE OF THE UNFORTUNATE PICTURE THIS REPORT PRESENTS - THAT OF ANTI-ATLANTICISM AS A FORM OF ANTI-AMERICANISM - TWO TRUTHS MUST BE BORNE IN MIND. THE FIRST IS THAT FRENCHMEN TAKE A CERTAIN PRIDE IN BEING DIFFICULT PARTNERS. THERE IS A LASTING SYMPATHY TOWARDS

FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER MICHEL JOBERT, NOT BECAUSE
PEOPLE ARE FUNDAMENTALLY IN ACCORD WITH HIS POLICIES, BUT
BECAUSE HE "STOOD UP" TO THE USA AND SPOKE AS A MAN
AMONG HIS PEERS AND NOT AS A SUPPLICANT (WHICH MANY
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FRENCHMEN FEEL NORTH EUROPEAN STATESMEN DO). SECONDLY,
ATLANTICISM IS A PREOCCUPATION OF THE POLITICAL, OR
POLITICIZED, CLASS ONLY. IT IS EXPECTED THAT VOTING FOR
THE PARLIAMENT OF EUROPE COULD BRING OUT AS LITTLE AS
30 PERCENT OF THE FRENCH ELECTORATE, REVEALING HOW LITTLE
A PLACE "FEAR" OF AMERICAN "DOMINATION" REALLY HAS IN
THE MINDS OF AVERAGE FRENCHMEN. AS STATED ABOVE, THE
FEAR OF GERMANY IS REAL, BUT SO IS A KIND OF ULTIMATE
CONFIDENCE IN UNCLE SAM. WHEN AMERICAN OFFICIALS EXPRESS
CONCERN OVER EVENTS IN ITALY, SPAIN OR PORTUGAL, THERE
IS THE DOUBLE REACTION OF "OUTRAGE" AT THIS INTERFERENCE
IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF A SOVEREIGN STATE, WHILE AT
THE SAME TIME THE QUESTION IS PICKED UP AND SERIOUSLY
DEBATED, IN THE FRENCH MEDIA, AMONG POLITICIANS, AND
WITH THE VOTERS, PERHAPS FOR THE FIRST TIME.

12. BOTH THESE TRUTHS HAVE ANOTHER POSITIVE SIDE. THE
SENSITIVE, OUTSPOKEN FRENCH USUALLY ARE THE FIRST AMONG
THE EUROPEANS TO ARTICULATE WHAT ARE, IN FACT, THE CON-
CERNS OF MANY EUROPEANS ABOUT U.S. ACTIONS. WHILE OTHERS
IN EUROPE KEEP QUIET AND ALLOW THEIR DISSATISFACTIONS TO
FESTER, THE FRENCH EXPRESS THEM. THIS PROVIDES A SAFETY-
VALVE FOR EUROPEANS AND A USEFUL CLUE FOR OURSELVES TO
SOME OF THE UNSTATED WORRIES OF OUR DIPLOMATICALLY MORE
RETICENT EUROPEAN ALLIES. FRANCE WILL REMAIN OSTENSIBLY
ANTI-ATLANTICIST IN THAT SHE IS A FIERCELY INDEPENDENT
COUNTRY, NO MATTER WHAT MAY HAPPEN, FOR EXAMPLE, DURING
THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS IN 1978. IN THE EVENT OF A
SERIOUS CONFRONTATION, HOWEVER, WE CAN ASSUME SHE WILL
SIDE WITH THE WEST. WE CAN EXPECT ATLANTICISM TO BECOME
OF GENERALIZED PUBLIC CONCERN ONLY WHEN POCKETBOOKS ARE
HIT (GERMAN TRADE, ARMS DEALS, SALE OF NUCLEAR
REPROCESSING PLANTS, ETC.) OR WHEN NATIONAL PRIDE IS
OPENLY TOUCHED.
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